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Message Text

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LIMDIS

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

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E.O.11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: NATO, NAC, PORG
SUBJECT: WASHINGTON NATO SUMMIT: FOLLOW-THROUGH ON SUMMIT ISSUES
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REF: STATE 151484 (DTG 142305Z JUN 78)
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SUMMARY:THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES A "WHERE WE ARE AND WHERE WE MIGHT GO FROM HERE" COMPENDIUM ON THE CENTRAL NATO ISSUES DEALT WITH AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT. OF THESE, THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP), THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE (TAD) AND THE EAST-WEST STUDY WERE INITIATIVES PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT CARTER AT THE LONDON SUMMIT AND DEVELOPED IN THE YEAR BETWEEN THE TWO ALLIANCE MEETINGS. THE TAD STILL
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REQUIRES CAREFUL NURTURING; THE LTDP IS WELL LAUNCHED IN THE ACTIVE IMPLEMENTATION STAGE; AND THE EAST-WEST STUDY HAS BEEN COMPLETED AND CAN BE TURNED TO AS A TOUCHSTONE FOR ONGOING DISCUSSIONS OF EAST-WEST ISSUES. OTHER ISSUES CONSIDERED AT THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT WILL NEED CAREFUL ATTENTION BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE NATO CONTEXT: E.G., THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S STUDY OF AID TO LESS DEVELOPED

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ALLIANCE MEMBERS, THE BRITISH MBFR AND ARMS CONTROL CONSULTATION PROPOSALS. FINALLY, WE NOTE THE STATUS OF ISSUES SUCH AS NATO CONSULTATIONS, AWACS, GREECE-TURKEY-NATO RELATIONS AND OUT OF AREA OPERATIONS WHICH WERE DISCUSSED AT THE SUMMIT AND WHICH WILL REMAIN OF CONCERN DURING THE MONTHS AHEAD.

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. IN GENERAL, WE BELIEVE THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO SUMMITS WAS ONE OF EXTRAORDINARY NATO ACTIVITY. IT WAS ABOUT AS POSITIVE AND USEFUL A YEAR AS COULD HAVE BEEN HOPED FOR GIVEN THE INEVITABLE CONSTRAINTS ON DYNAMIC ALLIANCE ACTIVITY. THE US PRESSED THE ALLIES HARD AND SET THE PACE. THE WASHINGTON SUMMIT WAS BY EVERY MEASURE A SIGNIFICANT CAPSTONE TO THE YEAR. ALMOST INEVITABLY, THERE IS A FEELING OF DECOMPRESSION AMONG MANY OF OUR COLLEAGUES. NEVERTHELESS, WE INTEND TO SEE THAT THE MOMENTUM WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPED IS NOT LOST. INDEED A REVIEW OF THE ACTIVITY SPAWNED AT THE SUMMIT SUGGESTS A FULL SLATE OF WORK FOR THE COMING MONTHS IN ADDITION TO NORMALLY SCHEDULED ALLIANCE ACTIVITY. END SUMMARY.

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I. THE LONDON INITIATIVES

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1. LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP):

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. THIS IS ONE AREA IN WHICH THERE HAS BEEN NO NOTICEABLE SENSE OF DECOMPRESSION. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE POST-SUMMIT FERMENT IN NATO HEADQUARTERS AS THE VARIOUS ACTORS COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM OF ENSURING ENERGETIC AND EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-THROUGH. THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE INITIATIVE, SOME OF WHICH NO DOUBT STEMS FROM THE WISH TO PROTECT ONE'S TURF AND NOT TO BE LEFT B EHIND. IN MANY INSTANCES THE APPROACHES BEING CONSIDERED BY NATIONAL DELEGATIONS REVEAL A MARKED UNDERLYING CONSERVATISM. NEVERTHELESS, THE GENERAL ATTITUDE WE DETECT IS POSITIVE IN EVERY SENSE AND STEMS NOT ONLY FROM HIGH LEVEL INTEREST IN THE LTDP, BUT ALSO, WE BELIEVE, FROM A RECOGNITION OF ITS GREAT POTENTIAL.

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. AT THIS POINT WE ARE REASONABLY CONFIDENT THAT PERMREPS WILL BE ABLE TO REPORT TO MINISTERS IN DECEMBER THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR ENSURING EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-THROUGH HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AND ARE FUNCTIONING. DESPITE THE . INEVITABLE PROBLEMS THAT WILL ARISE, WE REMAIN OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF THE LTDP OVER THE LONG HAUL.

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. THE STATE OF PLAY: SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS HAS CIR-

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CULATED A PRIVATE OFFICE MEMORANDUM (PO) SETTING OUT HIS SUGGESTIONS FOR THE INITIATION OF FOLLOW UP ACTION. THE PO ADDRESSES THE DRAFTING OF THE THREE REPORTS SPECIFICALLY COMMISSIONED BY HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OR BY DEFENSE MINISTERS:

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--A REPORT BY THE DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE ON THE BASIS OF RECOMMENDATIONS LUNS IS TO PREPARE, ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR ENSURING AN EFFECTIVE FOLLOW-THROUGH;

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TED BY D/SYG PETRIGNANI) ON THE ADDITIONAL WORK AND OTHER ACTION REQUIRED FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LTDP MEASURES;

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--A REPORT (BEING DRAFTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF) ON A NUMBER OF SUBSIDIARY MEASURES DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE MAIN PROGRAMS, INCLUDING NO COST/LOW COST MEASURES.

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. WE HAVE ENGAGED IN INTENSIVE CORRIDOR WORK AND ARE GRATIFIED AT THE RECEPTIVITY TO US IDEAS WE HAVE FOUND IN THE IS AND NATIONAL DELEGATIONS (WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF THE ITALIANS). IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WE HAVE BEEN STRESSING STRONGLY THE NEED FOR PROGRAM MONITORS FOR ALL NINE PROGRAM AREAS, INTEGRALLY MAINTAINED, AS WELL AS THE DESIRABILITY OF AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR CONSUMER LOGISTICS. WE HAVE FOUND WIDE AGREEMENT (SAVE AMONG THE ITALIANS) ON THE NEED FOR AN INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN THE EWG, WHICH WOULD

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CONTINUE TO ACT AS THE HIGH LEVEL STEERING GROUP FOR THE EXERCISE, AND THE BODIES OR AGENCIES CHARGED WITH THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEASURES.
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. WITH REGARD TO AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY GENERAL FOR CONSUMER LOGISTICS, WE HAVE FOUND INTEREST IN A RATIONALIZA TION OF FUNCTIONS WHICH WOULD RESULT IN THE TRANSFER OF RESPONSIBILITIES AMONG THE ASYG FOR DEFENSE SUPPORT, THE ASYG FOR DEFENSE PLANNING AND POLICY AND A NEW ASYG FOR CONSUMER LOGISTICS. THIS LATTER POST COULD BE CREATED BY UPGRADING THE CURRENT POST OF DIRECTOR, COUNCIL OPERATIONS AND COMMUNICATIONS FOLLOWING THE INCUMBENT'S IMMINENT RETIREMENT. HOWEVER, SOME DELEGATIONS BELIEVE THE POST SHOULD REMAIN AT THE DIRECTOR LEVEL.
-
. FROM OUR INFORMAL CONTACTS WE HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT PETRIGNANI'S DRAFT PAPER WILL BE COMPLETED IN TIME TO ALLOW AN EWG DISCUSSION OF FOLLOW-ON IN MID-JULY. WE BELIEVE THE PAPER WILL ADEQUATELY REFLECT THE MAJOR US VIEWS ON FOLLOW-THROUGH, WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A GOOD SPRINGBOARD FOR THE TOUGH DISCUSSION TO FOLLOW ON THE ISSUES OF NAMING THE PROGRAM MONITORS AND AGREEING ON THEIR TERMS OF REFERENCE AND ON ESTABLISHING AN ASYG FOR CONSUMER LOGISTICS.
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2. TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE

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. THE PACE OF THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE HAS BEEN MEASURED AT BEST AND WILL BE DIFFICULT TO ACCELERATE DUE TO THE STRUCTURE OF THE INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN PROGRAM GROUP (IEPG) AND THE POLITICAL REALITIES THE IEPG MUST REFLECT. THERE HAVE BEEN TWO MEETINGS OF THE DIALOGUE AT THE DEPUTY NATIONAL ARMAMENTS DIRECTOR (NAD) LEVEL SINCE THE MAY 1977 LONDON SUMMIT WHEN PRESIDENT CARTER WELCOMED THE IEPG'S INITIATIVE TO INCREASE COOPERATION IN DEFENSE PRODUCTION. MOST OF THE DISCUSSIONS TO DATE HAVE BEEN ON PROCEDURAL
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MATTERS, FORMATION OF WORKING GROUPS, GOALS, ETC. IT IS CLEAR THAT THE IEPG IS CUMBERSOME, INFLEXIBLE, AND IS HAVING CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY IN "SPEAKING WITH ONE VOICE".
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. THIS IS PARTLY BECAUSE OF BASIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES, BUT ALSO REFLECTS THE FACT THAT BEFORE

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THEY ARE WILLING TO MEET WITH THE NORTH AMERICANS, IEPG NATIONS BELIEVE THEY MUST DISSECT THE DETAILS OF EACH ISSUE TO BE DISCUSSED, INCLUDING THOSE INVOLVING BROAD CONCEPTS, DEVELOP NATIONAL POSITIONS, ATTEND INFREQUENT MEETINGS OF IEPG NADS, STATE UNDER SECRETARIES OR PANELS, DISCUSS THE ISSUE, AND COME TO AD REFERENDUM AGREEMENT.

-

. THE NORTH AMERICAN PARTNERS HAVE ATTEMPTED, WITH LITTLE SUCCESS, TO BROADEN THE DIALOGUE. BESIDES FRENCH RELUCTANCE TO ADDRESS WHAT THEY CONSIDER THEORETICAL AND IMPRACTICAL ISSUES, THE NATURAL RESISTANCE OF THE EUROPEAN TO FORM NEW GROUPS IN NATO SEEMS TO BE CONTRIBUTING TO OUR DIFFICULTY IN GETTING AD HOC GROUPS 2 (ON TRANSATLANTIC RATIONALIZATION OF RESEARCH, DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION) AND 3 (ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION) APPROVED. THE APPROACH SUGGESTED IN STATE 150250 TO SHIFT EMPHASIS FROM GROUP 3 TO EXISTING NATO "AC/94 STUDY GROUP" DEALING WITH LICENSING AND COPRODUCTION AUGMENTED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATO INDUSTRIAL ADVISORY GROUP (NIAG), MIGHT PROVE A PROMISING ALTERNATIVE.

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. FOR GROUP 1 ON OBSTACLES, WE BELIEVE THE US SHOULD BEGIN DISCUSSIONS POINTING OUT THE MANY AREAS WHERE WE HAVE ALREADY TAKEN STEPS TO IMPROVE COOPERATION, SUCH AS BILATERAL MOU'S AND NEW LEGISLATION AND INDICATING OUR PRELIMINARY THINKING ABOUT FURTHER STEPS.

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. AS FOR GROUP 2, WE BELIEVE THAT RATHER THAN FORMING A NEW GROUP, THE WORK COULD BE DONE BY THE DEPUTY NADS MEETING IN THE "REINFORCED NADREPS" FORUM, REINFORCED BY NATIONAL EXPERTS DEPENDING ON THE AGENDA TOPIC.

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. IN OUR VIEW, THE US SHOULD CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR A BROADENED DIALOGUE BY PROPOSING SPECIFIC AGENDA TOPICS WITH A CLARIFYING PAPER SUBMITTED WELL IN ADVANCE TO THE IEPG. ALTHOUGH CUMBERSOME, THIS TECHNIQUE STRIKES US AS THE ONE WHICH IS MOST APT TO PRODUCE POSITIVE RESULTS.

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. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD SEEK TO DEFINE WITH FRANCE, GERMANY AND THE UK HOW ALL NATIONS IN THE IEPG CAN SHARE IN DEFENSE PRODUCTION. ALTHOUGH WORK AT THE FOUR POWER LEVEL CAN BE MUCH FASTER THAN WORK IN THE FULL IEPG BECAUSE OF THE LIMITED INTERFACE, ALL ALLIANCE NATIONS MUST BELIEVE THEY ARE BEING GIVEN A FAIR SHARE OF THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES IF THE TAD IS TO SUCCEED AND, INDEED, IF IT IS NOT TO AFFECT THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE LTDP. WE SEE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS FALLING SQUARELY ON THE OTHER

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THREE POWERS.

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3. THE EAST-WEST STUDY

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. THE EAST-WEST STUDY CALLS FOR NO SPECIFIC FOLLOW-ON STRENGTHENED THE SENSE OF ALLIED COHESION IN THE AREA OF CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES TO EAST-WEST RELATIONS. MOREOVER, AS THE STUDY CONTAINS THE COLLECTIVE THINKING OF THE ALLIES YEARS, IT PROVIDES A FOUNDATION FOR THE CONTINUATION AND INTENSIFICATION OF NATO CONSULTATIONS IN THIS FIELD AND IN OTHER AREAS RELATED TO IT, SUCH AS AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

-

. IN DUE COURSE AFTER AN INTERVAL OF A YEAR OR TWO, PERIODIC REVIEWS OF THE STUDY ITSELF MIGHT WELL BE BEGUN. IN THE INTERIM, WE INTEND TO USE IT AS A POINT OF DEPAR-TURE FOR ONGOING WORK ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

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II. WASHINGTON INITIATIVES

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4. STUDY OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND ASSISTANCE WITHIN

THE ALLIANCE

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. THE IS FORESEES PARTICIPATION BY NATIONAL REPRESEN-
TATIVES IN THE DRAFTING OF THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE STUDY
CALLED FOR IN THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE. WE ANTICIPATE BEING
ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE PROCESS TO (A) SEE THAT CORRECT
DATA IS USED AND, MORE IMPORTANTLY, TO (B) HELP ASSURE
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THAT THE STUDY IS REALISTICALLY CONCEIVED AND LEADS ONLY
TO COURSES OF ACTION ACCEPTABLE TO WASHINGTON.
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. THE COMMUNIQUE'S CALL WAS AT TURKISH PROMPTING.
PARA 11 INVITES THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO CONDUCT A STUDY
OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION AIMED AT HELPING
THE LESSER DEVELOPED ALLIANCE NATIONS (BY IMPLICATION
GREECE AND PORTUGAL, IN ADDITION TO DEMANDEUR TURKEY) WITH
THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. IT IS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT
"EXISTING EFFORTS BY ALLIED MEMBERS BILATERALLY AND
IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL FORA, AND TO REPORT TO THE COUNCIL
ON THE WAY IN WHICH THE PROBLEM COULD BE ADDRESSED".
-
. WE UNDERSTAND THE IS (PLEASE PROTECT THE FOLLOWING)
HAS FORMULATED PRELIMINARY RECOMMENDATIONS AS TO HOW THE
STUDY MIGHT BE STRUCTURED AND HAS SUGGESTED THAT IT BE
DIVIDED INTO THREE PARTS:
-
--THE FIRST WOULD FACTUALLY SUMMARIZE THE ECONOMIC SITUATION
AND SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF LESS DEVELOPED ALLIANCE COUNTRIES,
AS WELL AS THE ECONOMIC STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF OTHER
ALLIANCE MEMBERS;
-
--THE SECOND WOULD REVIEW EXISTING EFFORTS BY MEMBER COUN-
TRIES TO EXTEND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION TO THOSE
COUNTRIES THAT ARE IN PARTICULAR NEED. THIS PART WOULD AIM
TO COVER THE MOTHODS BY WHICH SUCH COOPERATION AND ASSIS-
TANCE HAVE BEEN AND CAN BE DEVELOPED. INFORMATION ON BOTH
THE MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL ASPECTS OF PRESENT EFFORTS
WOULD BE SOUGHT FROM INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MEMBER
COUNTRIES;

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--THE THIRD PART WOULD CONSIDER HOW THE COUNCIL MIGHT DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM, INCLUDING THE TYPE OF ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION THAT MIGHT BE ENVISAGED AND THE WAYS IN WHICH THE COUNCIL MIGHT WISH TO FOLLOW UP IN LIGHT OF THE FIRST TWO PARTS OF THE STUDY. THIS PART WOULD ATTEMPT TO TAKE POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS FULLY INTO ACCOUNT.
-
. AT PRESENT THE IS CONTEMPLATES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN OPEN-ENDED ADVISORY WORKING GROUP ON WHICH MEMBERS OF THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COMMITTEES WOULD BE INVITED TO SERVE. THE CHAIRMANSHIP WOULD BE PROVIDED BY BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIRECTORATES AS APPROPRIATE.
-
. PRESENT INTERNATIONAL STAFF THINKING IS TO MOVE AHEAD SMARTLY WITH THE STUDY, RECOGNIZING THAT MUCH WILL DEPEND UPON THE SPEED WITH WHICH THE NECESSARY DATA CAN BE ACQUIRED. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE WORKING GROUP WOULD REPORT TO THE COUNCIL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON THE OUTLOOK FOR THE STUDY AND THE COUNCIL COULD THEN DECIDE WHETHER A FINAL REPORT BY THE END OF THE YEAR WOULD BE SATISFACTORY.
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. THE ABOVE IS PRELIMINARY AND DOES NOT HAVE LUNS' BLESSING. A NUMBER OF QUESTIONS SUCH AS THE EXTENT TO WHICH MILITARY ASSISTANCE WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS WILL INEVITABLY ARISE AS THE PROCESS UNFOLDS. THE US REACTION TO BROADENING THE STUDY TO INCLUDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE WOULD, WE ASSUME, BE AFFECTED BY THE FATE OF ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO REPEAL THE EMBARGO AND ACTION WITH REGARD TO FURTHER MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL. IT SEEMS LIKELY IN THIS CONNECTION THAT SOME DELEGATIONS AT LEAST WILL PREFER TO LIMIT THE FOCUS TO ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE SINCE (WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE FRG) THEY HAVE PROVIDED ONLY MINIMAL

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MILITARY ASSISTANCE. WE COULD BE FLEXIBLE ON THIS POINT,
WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT INTRODUCING THE QUESTION OF MILITARY
ASSISTANCE COULD MAKE THE PROJECT SUBSTANTIALLY MORE COMPLE
-
5. ARMS CONTROL

. DURING THE MONTHS AHEAD, WE ANTICIPATE SOMEWHAT IN-
CREASED CALLS ON THE TIME OF WASHINGTON ARMS CONTROL EXPERTS
FOR CONSULTATIONS HERE AT EVERE AND FOR BACKSTOPPING NATO
ACTIVITIES FROM WASHINGTON. THE ALLIES HAVE AGREED TO A UK
SUGGESTION TO MAKE "FULLER" USE OF ALLIANCE MACHINERY TO
PURSUE MATTERS OF ARMS CONTROL IN THE FUTURE AND REFLECTED
THIS DECISION IN THE SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE. IT IS AS YET UN-
CLEAR HOW THIS COMMITMENT WILL TRANSLATE INTO PRACTICAL
MEASURES, I.E., WHETHER THE ALLIES WILL SEEK TO PLACE
ADDITIONAL TOPICS (SUCH AS THE FRENCH DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS
OR THE ISSUE OF "GREY AREA" SYSTEMS) ON THE NATO AGENDA,
OR WHETHER THEY WILL ADVOCATE PROCEDURAL/STRUCTURAL CHANGES
IN NATO (SUCH AS INCREASED FREQUENCY OF CONSULTATIONS, A
SPECIALLY DESIGNATED ARMS CONTROL COMMITTEE, OR THE DEVELOP-
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MENT OF GREATER "IN-HOUSE" ARMS CONTROL EXPERTISE). IN ANY
CASE, WHILE WE MAY BELIEVE THAT THE ARMS CONTROL PROCESS AT
NATO HAS BEEN WORKING ABOUT RIGHT, WE CAN EXPECT THE ALLIES
TO PAY IT HEIGHTENED ATTENTION, PARTLY AS A RESULT OF OUR
OWN INITIATIVES, PARTLY AS A RESULT OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS
IN ONGOING NEGOTIATIONS, AND PARTLY AS A RESULT OF QUICKENIN
ALLIED INTEREST IN THE FIELD GENERALLY.
-
. ON SALT, THE ALLIES WILL EXPECT IN THE SHORT TERM TO
BE KEPT APPRAISED OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND
WILL BE MOST SPECIFICALLY INTERESTED IN:
-
--THE US INTERPRETIVE STATEMENT ON NON-CIRCUMVENTION;
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--ANY US/USSR EXCHANGES ON "GREY AREA" SYSTEMS; AND
-
--CRUISE MISSILE LIMITATIONS.
-
. IN THE LONGER TERM, AFTER COMPLETION OF THE SALT II
TREATY, THE ALLIES WILL EXPECT TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH
THE US ON WHETHER--OR HOW-- "GREY AREA" SYSTEMS WILL BE
DEALT WITH IN SALT III. THIS ISSUE, LINKED AS IT IS WITH
THE QUESTIONS OF THE THEATRE NUCLEAR BALANCE, THE US/USSR
STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP, AND EUROPEAN FORCE MODERNIZATION,
WILL INEVITABLY BE A KEY ITEM ON THE ALLIANCE AGENDA.
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6. MBFR:

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. IF A BREAKTHROUGH SHOULD OCCUR ON THE DATA ISSUE,
THE UK-INSPIRED ALLIANCE COMMITMENT (REFLECTED IN THE

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SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE) TO CONVENE A MEETING ON THE NEGOTIATIONS
ON MBFR AT FOREIGH MINISTER LEVEL WOULD VERY LIKELY COME
QUICKLY AND PROMINENTLY INTO PLAY. HOWEVER, WE ARE NOT
OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF SUCH A BREAKTHROUGH,
EVEN THOUGH MBFR HAS REGISTERED MORE PROGRESS IN THE PAST
YEAR THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE ITS INCEPTION. WE THUS EXPECT
THE KEY ISSUE OF THE NUMBER OF EASTERN TROOPS IN THE
REDUCTION AREA TO BE WITH US FOR SOME TIME TO COME. IN ANY
CASE, ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN MBFR WILL ALSO INEVITABLY
ENGENDER INTRA-ALLIANCE STRAINS, AS PROGRESS WILL IN TURN
INTENSIFY EUROPEAN INTEREST IN BOTH THE DETAILS AND
THE BROAD OUTLINES OF ANY EVENTUAL MBFR PACKAGE.
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III. SUPPLEMENTARY ISSUES

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6. NATO AWACS

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. IN OUR OPINION, THE ALLIANCE WILL DECIDE IN DUE
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COURSE TO PROCURE THE AWACS CAPABILITY. WE BASE THIS JUDGEMENT ON THE DEFENSE MINISTERS' COMMITMENT AT THE MAY DEFENSE PLANNING COMMITTEE MEETING AS WELL AS THE SUBSEQUENT SIGNATURE BY REPRESENTATIVES OF FIVE NATIONS (LUXEMBOURG, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, UK AND US) OF THE STATEMENT OF UNDERSTANDING IN SUPPORT OF CONTINUED INITIAL DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES.

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. THIS IS NOT TO SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT SEVERAL DIFFICULT PROBLEMS REQUIRING CONTINUED US ATTENTION DO NOT REMAIN. THE MOST CRITICAL AND TIME SENSITIVE IS THE NEED FOR THE US, CANADA OR THE FRG TO COMMIT BEFORE JULY 1 TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATO/US STANDARDIZED CONFIGURATION FOR AWACS (USNATO 6119). FAILURE OF AT LEAST ONE OF THE THREE NATIONS TO COMMIT TO PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FUNDS COULD LEAD TO EXPENSIVE DELAY AT A TIME WHEN FURTHER INCREASES IN COST COULD SERIOUSLY AFFECT THE PROGRAM'S CHANCES OF SUCCESS. ONCE THIS NEAR TERM PROBLEM HAS BEEN RESOLVED, OF COURSE, THE US AND OTHER PARTICIPANTS (PARTICULARLY THE FRG) WILL FACE THE CHALLENGE OF GAINING LEGISLATIVE APPROVAL FOR THEIR NATIONAL SHARES OF THE PROGRAM.

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. PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL INTERVENTION AT THE SUMMIT ON THE VALUE OF THE NATO AWACS PROGRAM WAS OF GREAT ASSISTANCE. WE BELIEVE THAT CONTINUED HIGH-LEVEL INTEREST WILL ENHANCE THE CHANCES FOR EVENTUAL SUCCESS OF THIS PROGRAM.

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8. GENERAL CONSULTATIONS

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. THE US HAS AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD OF PROMOTING AND

PARTICIPATING IN ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS AT ALL LEVELS. THE EAST-WEST STUDY GIVES US THE OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD ON THIS RECORD. IN DOING SO, WE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER AT EACH STEP HOW BEST TO PROCEED, KEEPING IN MIND THE FRENCH ATTITUDE TO ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS (USNATO 5135 AND PARIS 19534) AND THE EVOLVING POLITICAL CONSULTATION PROCESS AMONG THE NINE, PARTICULARLY IN THE EAST-WEST FIELD. AS TO SPECIFIC ISSUES FOR CONSULTATIONS AT NATO, WE WILL BE SUBMITTING A LIST OF PROPOSED SUBJECTS FOR CONSULTATION IN THE FALL AND EARLY 1979 TO UPDATE THOSE ISSUES DISCUSSED IN USNATO 1016 AND STATE 38153. WE ARE PARTICULARLY ANXIOUS TO KEEP THE FOCUS

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OF CSCE CONSULTATIONS HERE AT EVERE.
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9. OUT OF AREA OPERATIONS

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. WE EXPECT TO SEE INCREASED DISCUSSION AT NATO IN
THE MONTHS AHEAD OF EVENTS OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA, PAR-
TICULARLY SOVIET, CUBAN AND CHINESE ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA.
WE DO NOT EXPECT, HOWEVER, ANY REDUCTION IN THE TRADITIONAL
RELUCTANCE OF MANY NATO MEMBER NATIONS TO APPEAR TO BE
COORDINATING OUT OF AREA ACTIVITIES AT NATO HEADQUARTERS.
TRADITIONAL INHIBITIONS WILL REMAIN STRONG DESPITE THE
ATTENTION GIVEN THE BROADER WORLD SCENE AT THE SUMMIT.
NEVERTHELESS WE BELIEVE THE SUMMIT DISCUSSION HAS SENSITIZED
ALLIED LEADERS TO THE CONCEPTUAL INTERPLAY BETWEEN OUT OF
AREA DEVELOPMENTS AND ALLIANCE SECURITY. THIS IN TURN
SHOULD HELP SHARPEN THE FOCUS OF DECISIONS HERE ON SUCH
PROBLEMS.
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10. GREECE-TURKEY-NATO

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LIMDIS
. THIS CORNUCOPIA OF PROBLEMS WILL REMAIN WITH THE
ALLIANCE AS LONG AS BILATERAL PROBLEMS REMAIN UNSOLVED OR
AT LEAST UNTREATED. PROGRESS ON GREECE-NATO RELATIONS WILL
DEPEND IN GOOD MEASURE ON DECISIONS TAKEN IN ANKARA, AS
WELL AS THOSE TAKEN IN ATHENS. GIVEN THE STATUS OF THE

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EMBARGO REPEAL EFFORT, THE DCAS, THE GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS AND TURKEY'S PRESENT STANCE ON RELATIONS WITH THE ALLIANCE, WE CAN PREDICT AT THIS TIME LITTLE MORE THAN THE INEVITABILITY OF ONGOING REFLECTIONS AT NATO OF THE TENSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO ALLIES (AND HOPEFULLY PROGRESS IN REDUCING SUCH TENSIONS). WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK TO USE ALLIANCE MACHINERY SUCH AS THE OPEN ENDED GROUP ON GREECE-NATO RELATIONS AND THE PROPOSED ECONOMIC STUDY NOTED ABOVE TO LIMIT THE ADVERSE IMPACT OF THESE TENSIONS AND TO STRENGTHEN THE COHERENCE OF NATO DEFENSE AND DETERRENCE POSTURE IN THE SOUTHEASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. GLITMAN

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